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Editors: EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.
PHILIP BURNHAM

HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *Managing Editor;* C. G. PAULDING, *Literary Editor;* JOHN C. CORT, *Associate Editor;* JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager.*

The State of the Union

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S address at (almost) the opening of the new Congress was not a particularly exciting document. Like most of his previous speeches and messages to Congress, it reflects a man whose heart is in the right place but who has little ability to strike the sparks required for true leadership under a republican form of government It begins with a wisecrack (very mild) and ends with a prayer (equally mild). In between there is a goodly expanse of things devoutly to be wished for, disagreement with which (because they are so vaguely stated) would be difficult to any except fanatics of the Left or Right. And so the New York *Sun* (very Rep.) remarks: "Although no masterpiece of statesmanship had been expected, this message is indeed so pedestrian, so colorless in style, so uninspired in content as to afflict the country with a deep sense of disappointment." On the other hand, the New York *Post* (very Dem.) says: "If his State of the Union message was not Harry Truman's most crusading speech, it was one of his shrewdest." Strike the balance and you come close to the truth. However much we may regret having to admit it, Max Lerner in *PM* pretty well hit the nail on the head: "As was true of his message last year, the President's words were well meant. They would have more force now, however, if he could show a better record of Administration accomplishment."

Essentially, the President did what any quiet, sensible man would have done. He asked a Republican Congress to cooperate with his Democratic Administration for the sake of the general welfare; he admitted that there were domestic issues on which "we may, and probably shall disagree. That in itself is not to be feared. It is inherent in our form of government. But there are ways of disagreeing. . . ." What would appear to be the really important disagreements likely during the next few months? Not many. Mr. Truman wants some sort of national health program. Increasingly this is a popular idea, and so long as it does not involve compulsory health insurance, there is considerable likelihood that a Republican Congress may do something about it. The same is true of public housing, especially since Mr. Taft is not averse to a reasonably decent program in this field. The President would like to increase our quotas for displaced persons "of all faiths." He is less likely to get action there, if only because the Republican branch of organized labor is far from sold. And this suggests likewise that the Republican bark regarding toughness with labor unions is almost sure to be much worse than its bite. Labor's real enemies in any Congress are the members coming from districts where there is substantially no labor vote, and as many such districts are Democratic as are Republican. No Republican who thinks nationally concerning his party's future is going to go out of his way to infuriate American trade unions, for he knows that his party must win as large as possible a portion of urban constituencies if it is to continue in its present position of popular superiority. But tough talk is needed to appease those who don't like the unions.

All the signs indicate that Mr. Truman is most likely openly to be opposed on his budgetary program, wherein he seems to prefer a relatively larger budget, retaining most present taxes, whereas the Republicans prefer cutting Federal expenditures and lowering taxes. Of course both are in favor of a balanced budget (who wouldn't be?) and of a substantial reduction in the national debt. Mr. Truman wants this accomplished by keeping taxes high and taking no chances; the Republicans say that it will be best done by gambling on the incentive of lower taxes producing an even greater national income and hence more national revenue. Since Mr. Truman said that he would welcome incentive taxation, we feel that his fiscal policy—if really carried out—is the sounder at the moment, while the Republican policy is the more demagogic. But before any final judgment can be made, it remains to be seen what the temper of the new Congress will really be. Meanwhile Mr. Bilbo is sorrowfully in hospital, and

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his case has so far been handled in the public interest. At least he is not yet in the Senate.

"Americans for Democratic Action"

IT IS disheartening but true that consistently since the early 1930's American ultra-conservatives have without hesitancy dubbed reformism, as embodied in such phenomena as the New Deal, the cooperative movement and aggressive labor unions, communistic. This label has had its ups and downs but was never quite so politically effective as during the period of disillusionment which began after V-J day. In recent months the identification of political reformism and communist sympathies has been helped along mightily by the National Citizens Committee of the PAC, Mr. Henry Wallace and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—not to mention Republican successes last November.

This identification-confusion reached its apex with the formation of the "Progressive Citizens of America" analyzed in these columns last week. All this made it appear that the only political choice lay between a return to the Republicanism of pre-Roosevelt days and an embrace of the sort of reformism which among other things supports the policies of Soviet Russia even when they conflict with those of the United States. It was the specter of an old dilemma: either rugged individualism, regardless of its effect on large sectors of the masses, or over-centralized statism even tending toward totalitarianism of the Russian stripe.

This is the juncture at which a number of the wholehearted progressives of this country have jumped into the breach. Their organization, "Americans for Democratic Action," is only a few days old. But its first brief statement of principles and the names of its first prominent adherents clearly define its political approach. ADA is neither a catch-all for American anti-communists nor a likely friend of the new Congress where "reaction is riding high"; its devotion to progressive democracy is "unequivocal" and consistently applies to all countries and all situations. It plans to seek political and social reforms in the interests of the public good—not with some ulterior or enslaving ultimate motive. ADA members will wage their "battle for democracy" with patriotic intent, "no hidden loyalties."

The first brief six-point program contains a number of significant items. One of the key phrases is: "protection of civil liberties from concentrated wealth and over-centralized government." Important is strong allegiance to the UN and the American atomic plan. Then there is ADA support for "all democratic and freedom-loving peoples the world over" coupled with express rejection of association "with communists or sympathizers with communism in the United States" or "with fascists or their sympathizers." In other words, "Americans for Democratic Action" promise to provide a rallying point for all those who believe that a new, more mature and uncentralized New Deal under the leadership of men and women of undivided loyalty is a good way to confront the country's current difficulties.

What this means politically is still uncertain. In New York State, the ADA should, of course, prove a pillar of strength to the Liberal Party over against the ALP, which has enjoyed so much communist favor. With Mrs. Roosevelt, Leon Henderson, Wilson Wyatt, Chester Bowles and Walter Reuther prominent in its leadership, that the new organization will make a vigorous attempt to function within the Democratic Party seems likely. Whether it can revive the New Deal politically is an open question; the obstacles thereto certainly are high enough. Probably the ADA will be more effective in lending strength to American labor leaders struggling against communists in union office who have hung on like bulldogs to the CIO posts where they were once planted by John L. Lewis.

What we should be most grateful for in the emergence of this progressive organization is the unclouded opportunity which it presents to influence public opinion in the direction of social justice, civil liberties for Americans of every race and status and a well-shared, rising standard of health and living. More than any other single event in recent months, the formation of "Americans for Democratic Action" has cut the fog which of late has confused and paralyzed political liberalism in this country.

Restrictions or Abundance

THE NATION'S farmers as a whole experienced in 1946 the most profitable year of their entire history: their income was some twenty-three billions. At the turn of the year the demands for American agricultural products—and the prices of these commodities—are at the zenith. There is no immediate prospect of the slackening of either domestic or foreign demand. But for some weeks now the first fears of agricultural surpluses have been voiced.

Thus far the query has been a lone, if powerful one. Pleas for restriction of production have come from officials of only one national organization: the American Farm Bureau Federation. Opposed to such a course, if with varied vehemences, are such groups as the Farmers Union, dairy groups, the Council of Farmers Cooperatives, spokesmen for various commodities, the new Congress, certain major food processors, and even Secretary Anderson. Domestically this

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would mean eventually that high prices for agricultural products would be maintained by reviving the food allotment or food stamp plan designed to assure every American an adequate minimum diet. Internationally it would involve the building up of reserves under the FAO for distribution in food shortage areas whenever the need arises. Such a method of dealing with agricultural surpluses would be a tremendous stride forward for mankind.

It is no accident that the organization which has been in the forefront in the battle against restricting agricultural production is the Farmers Union, the doughty champion of the family farm. Or that the Department of Agriculture, now favoring an economics of abundance, should at long last also seek to encourage development of the family farm by the issuance of a series of highly informative studies (through its Bureau of Agricultural Economics) on the subject of "Typical Family-Operated Farms 1930-45."

Besides the boost to this cause from the Senate Committee on Small Business reported in these columns last week—and the new interest of the Department of Agriculture—family-type farming has other gratifying prospects. Its old adversary, the farm bloc, appears to be struck by dissension. Not only does the Farm Bureau find itself isolated in advocating restriction of agricultural production, but one of its chief allies of many years standing, the National Grange, is aiming directly at the Farm Bureau when it calls for "legislation to make the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service financially and politically independent of any farm organization."

The trend is still to large-scale mechanization and factories in the fields; but there are signs that family-type farming in the United States is not yet the most abandoned of lost causes.

The Loan to Italy

IT WAS the British first, and we talked about Lord Keynes; then it was the French; we greeted Blum (there was a lot to say about Léon Blum; we admire him; he was easy to write about); now it is the Italians, and Alcide de Gasperi is here. You can always write about the men—de Gasperi is a serious, honest man—or you can write about the difficulties, the almost impossibly difficult situations, these European statesmen have to face at home. Keynes is dead, so he does not have to trouble about England anymore, but as soon as a man dies there is somebody else, so that you can write about somebody else who is worrying about his country and any European country is something to worry about now and will be for a long time.

These men, when they come to America, come to get money for their countries. They bring experts with them, who talk to experts here, and it all gets very complicated; the experts try to make it safe and businesslike; they put it into the businesslike words that we used when Americans were making safe and business-like loans to Germany for instance, when Germany was re-arming for this war.

So that you can write also about whether a loan to one country or to another is safe or not. The AP reports that "the Export-Import Bank has been considering a $100,000,000 loan for Italy for the past year. Despite State Department urging, however, the bank has so far declined to approve it lest it prove a poor financial risk." You can argue about that if you want. Presumably de Gasperi and his experts will have to argue about it.

Specifically with regard to Italy you can say that Italy will go to pieces if it does not get the loan; and then there can be the argument as to whether Italy's collapse into chaos or communism would make any difference to America. The trouble is that this argument has been made already; the trouble is that it is not very interesting to write about an argument that is already settled.

If we allow the countries of Western Europe to fall into pieces they will not stay in pieces; they will form a continent politically united against America, a continent rejecting all four, all four hundred, of our peculiar ideas of freedom. And through this new Europe's influence on other continents America will find itself isolated.

So that we write simply to request the government to instruct its experts and bankers to do their work as fast as they can and get it over with. Because we really are not worried about the "poor financial risk" of the loan to Italy; we are worried at the extreme risk to civilization should Italy, through lack of money, be lost to our world.

Chinese Chapter

AT LEAST formally, if not necessarily organically, China now has just concluded a chapter and is opening a new one, and this is important for her millions and for all the rest of the world. The Dairen incident may indicate also that the United States recognizes the commencement of a new chapter. The note which our State Department sent to the Chinese and Soviet governments is announced, surprisingly to hear, as the first official communication since the war sent by the United States Government to Russia concerning Chinese problems. It certainly seems time.

The National Chinese Government has announced positive moves to broaden its base. Representatives of the Young China party and

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of the Social Democratic party have been invited to join in the administration. This is the first time since 1928 that non-Kuomintang parties have had such an opportunity. The first analyses of the 175-article constitution which has just been adopted for China have been published in America, and they are reassuring. The constitution does not appear to be unrealistically and fantastically western, and it does embody numerous doubtlessly beneficial standards and aspirations. Chiang Kai-shek gave a radio address at the end of the year, and his tone was broad and progressive (much of it paternal and moral in a manner colorfully non-occidental, at least back to the days of Roman Censors). He emphasized again that from the National side, reconciliation with the China communists is still an earnest idea.

But the Chinese communists appear to be increasingly separatist. Having boycotted the constitutional convention, they now denounce the constitution. Reuters reports that a very full convention of Chinese red leaders have set about definitively to set up a complete opposition régime. American reports from Yenan, with quotations especially from the local paper, *Emancipation Daily News*, tell that the Chinese reds have undertaken a most violent policy of denunciation against the National Government and the United States. The latter is attacked as a world enemy in a manner which demonstrates again the increasingly strict "CP" nature of the Chinese red régime. The student demonstrations in Peiping and Shanghai fit the Yenan policy of opposition.

A glance at an atlas of China shows the gigantic scale of her problems and the terrible difficulties created by the solidifying of the two régimes. The basic material need is for the land to yield more sustenance, and both sides are in a position to ruin the efforts of the other to bring that about.

The Chinese communists have had a wonderful press in regard to land reform. In creating this good report, the Stalinists have been supported by numerous less partisan observers and particularly by soldiers and others who spent time in China during the war. But increasingly it appears that the assertion that the Chinese reds have benefited the farmers and farm production much more than the Chinese nationalists is not securely founded. Defenders of the regular government say that the red policy is directed too narrowly at the problem of land *distribution* (not a prime problem in the North), and that it is concentrated in special areas in such a way that a good show can be put on for visitors. Some word is getting around concerning the persistent agricultural efforts of the Chiang government and missionaries—a long, long task in so huge a country as China. Right now there is the problem of switching the Yellow River back to its pre-1938 channel, a job undertaken with UNRRA and United States backing in order to increase production and reduce flood dangers. The communists oppose the final move because national controlled China would be hugely benefited, but red controlled areas and men injured. The overall picture is lost from view. The Chinese require development of their land to live, and we need information about it to guide our policy.

Memorial Sonnet

No doubt this death was not the death he meant.
The voice of the seashell broke against his ear
Sounding the bell buoys' "Death is to be here"
And to the sea was where he always went.
Because he was a sailor, because his spent
Time on the water, fleeting from the shore,
Surely he reckoned that he sailed before
His death. And yet no warship ever sent
Signal by searchlight, flag, or steel glass. But
He died in a white room with his daughter's love.
How was that heart, which hoped for happiness
To grapple in the whale's gullet, the shark's gut,
Able to breast the surf, the surface of
Dying at home? His life lies under grass.

DUNSTAN THOMPSON.

Byrnes to Marshall

THE AMERICAN public received the hasty news of Secretary Byrnes's retirement and that of General of the Army Marshall's appointment as Secretary of State without preparation, and certainly, in itself and without judgment of political implications or personal qualities, it was a shock. There is no doubt that the shift, physically and humanly necessary as it may be, involves the definite injury and evil of breaking continuity: a place where US foreign policy particularly, and public government generally, is not strong. We almost fail to recognize the existence of the strength and other virtues which continuity brings.

We share the esteem and confidence which the great majority of Americans feel toward General Marshall, but that seems to us to have unfortunately little to do with the case. The job of Secretary and next-in-line for the presidency is a political job, and we know nothing of his politics—except they will presumably be those of a good and strong man. There isn't, but there should have been a major statesman—politician—to put in. Not long ago, it would have been a major figure from business or banking or the law. Now the choice is from government service, and the armed forces are the only service that has been operating on a scale and in a public manner to produce the indicated candidate.

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The Polish Elections

How much of the popular will can they actually reflect?

Zygmunt Zaremba

THE totalitarian provisional régime organized in June, 1945, during the Harriman-Kerr-Molotov conference, still continues in Poland, and the elections scheduled for January 19 will not nullify the blunder committed in Moscow. Ambassador Harriman was at the time the one who understood that the agreement reached might later turn out to be fictitious. He asserted that the creation of the provisional Warsaw régime did not complete the task imposed on the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia by the Yalta agreement. When Molotov stated, in the course of the discussion, that he regarded the function of the three Yalta signatories as completed, Harriman contradicted him firmly, emphasizing that it was still necessary to conduct "free and democratic elections in Poland. Only then one will be able to speak of the completion of the tasks connected with the solving of the Polish problem."

This attitude was supported also by Kerr, the British Ambassador. Thus ended the conference which called into being the present Polish Provisional Government of National Unity—which is the official designation of the Polish governmental authority formed under the Yalta agreement.

The Polish nation, exhausted by the five-year battle with the forces of occupation, conscious of the loss of six million murdered citizens, depressed by the necessity of mass exodus from the eastern territory it had occupied for centuries, and forced to seek new homesteads on the German territories from which it had been expelled centuries earlier, saw in the statements of the US and British ambassadors the only bright spot in the gloomy picture of the Moscow blueprint for post-war Poland.

For at the same moment, in the very same Moscow, there was going on a trial of sixteen representatives of the *true* Poland. Not figures such as Osobka-Morawski, Zymierski, and Bierut brought forward out of political nothingness by a foreign power, but men preeminent in public activities for years, especially during recent years, when the only way to serve Poland as a leader was in the underground movement. These sixteen, put on trial by Moscow, should have participated in the Moscow discussions as the real spokesmen of Poland. In their stead the only individuals invited (other than members of the pro-Soviet Lublin bloc) were a few retired politicians, mainly old men with one foot in the grave. Only Mikolajczyk and his colleagues represented a sector of politically organized Polish opinion. Could then negotiations carried on by a group of such composition enjoy the confidence of the Polish population? Could the outcome of such negotiations be productive? For that reason the position taken by Ambassador Harriman served to lessen slightly the feeling of bitterness. Free and unfettered democratic elections became the hope of the Polish masses.

It was not Poland's destiny that these hopes should be long-lived. After a few months it became clear that the Provisional Government was concerned with everything but the public's sentiments. The elections became a nightmare which the government tried to hold off as long as it could; when it finally decided to face things and to live up to the promises made in Moscow and reiterated at Potsdam, that was only because the elections were so arranged that they could no longer result in turning over to the citizens, the power of decision in national matters. Elections held now will not be true elections. They can be neither free nor unfettered. They will be but an act of dictatorial transformation, and at the utmost might provide the citizens with an opportunity of expressing a mere protest against the current régime.

The entire course of political events, as well as the tone of the election regulations promulgated by the government officials gives an advance indication of the character and the only possible results of the forthcoming elections. The principle has been abandoned (agreed upon at Moscow) that the Provisional Government of National Unity was to be a sort of coalition between the Lublin bloc and the Polish Peasant Party *(Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe)* the latter being the only independent Polish element participating in the régime. The leader of this Peasant Party, Mr. Mikolajczyk, now Vice-Premier, has long since ceased to play any significant part in the government. He has complained publicly that the most important government matters were being handled secretly behind

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his back; his authority in his capacity as Minister of Agriculture has been curtailed.

Mr. Mikolajczyk's two associates in the cabinet have even less authority. Moreover, Mikolajczyk's party has been subjected to all sorts of repressive measures of which the dissolution of the organization in whole counties (powiats) has been among the mildest. Murders perpetrated on popular local leaders; incessant arrests, the victims of which include such persons as S. Wojcik, the Secretary General of the Polish Peasant Party, or Florek Bagienski, for many years a peasant leader, a prisoner at Brest and one of the defendants at the Moscow trial—these things should give some idea of the extent of the repressive measures. The aim of such measures, as stated by Mr. Bierut in his address to a delegation of professors of the University of Cracow, was to enforce the support of the Government "bloc": "If you don't go in with the bloc, tears will be your lot and you will be beaten. We will use all means in our power to break you and smash you. . . ."

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In violation of the Yalta agreement, which provided for the freedom of open activities for all democratic and anti-nazi groups, the régime created in Poland a system of licensed parties, giving them the exclusive rights to organize one or another traditional Polish political movement. This has resulted in a situation totally incomprehensible to the outside world. The leaders of these parties, chosen in connivance with Russia, having appropriated all the old symbols, such as the names of the parties and of the party publications, are pursuing policies diametrically opposed to the principles on the basis of which these parties had developed in Polish life.

Belonging to one or another party is often as essential for a laborer or a white-collar worker as registration at a store distributing rationed goods. To obtain an apartment, to keep one's job, to get a share of UNRRA packages, or the scale of compensation one receives—all these and many other matters of everyday life are bound up with membership in one or another of the official parties. For this reason it is now taken for granted in Polish life that membership in one or another of the official parties does not imply any moral obligations.

The leaders of the licensed parties may decide upon a certain course of action, while their members may march in the opposite direction. The best instance of this situation was a referendum of last June, when 84 percent of the total vote went against the régime—a result which would have been impossible without the defection of a considerable number of members of the official political organizations. At that time, in order to hide its defeat, somehow the government was forced purely and simply to falsify the results of the referendum and to declare that 67 percent had voted for its proposals. Now the government is facing the same dilemma again.

The purpose of the electoral bloc of the governmental parties is to serve as an instrument for the falsification of the elections. Its basis is the recent agreement between the "Polish Workers' Party" (the communists) and the spurious "Polish Socialist Party." In addition, there are also other official parties. The government's policy is to create the impression of a broad social basis of the government bloc. In other words, the various elements of the Soviet-sponsored Lublin bloc will use diversified appeals for a common end. On the opposing side there will be the Peasant Party headed by Mikolajczyk. It is certain that he will not be permitted to put up candidates in all the districts. With this in view, the security police has already dissolved Peasant Party units in many districts. In other districts provisions of the election are being invoked permitting abrogation of voting rights in the case of citizens suspected of collaboration with "reaction and fascism." With the aid of these provisions the authorities concerned with the safety of the régime are limiting the opportunities of the Peasant Party to a scope that will not endanger the ruling Polish group, while at the same time giving the outside world the impression of full freedom for the opposition. Moreover, one might expect a considerable variety of local electoral lists. This is the only possible direction for the initiative of various groups which are not permitted to put up their own party labels but do not wish to merge completely with Mikolajczyk. This includes, first of all, Polish Socialists, who are faithful to the old standards of freedom and democracy without the Russian "improvements." The Catholic Workers Party groups and perhaps also other representatives of living political thought, each one taken separately having to contribute more than all the government groups put together, will also search for possible ways of getting their spokesmen into the Sejm. Will these groups succeed in presenting their own nominees? Will the authorities permit independent lists of candidates anywhere, or will they fill the places that should rightfully belong to such nominees with puppet candidates, set up in public view on the day of the elections in order to confuse the electorate and to diminish the size of the Mikolajczyk vote? . . .

We can see how the government is taking preventive measures by removing persons who could possibly gather around themselves the masses of the people. After the repressive measures directed against the members of the People's Party (*Ludowey*), the government began arresting

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those independent socialists who had either nominally joined the official Socialist Party, or had stepped aside, living in conditions of semi-freedom, under the constant surveillance of the security police. The latter category includes Antoni Wasik, member of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Party (PPS), who had been imprisoned earlier with an entire group of party colleagues, as well as the more recently arrested Tadeusz Szturm de Sztrem, an outstanding Polish statistician who was Deputy Secretary General of the PPS during the entire period of the occupation. The category of those who had joined the ranks of the licensed parties, but who had intended to preserve there their own political independence, includes the recently arrested Boleslaw Galaj, an outstanding self-educated workingman, one of the most self-sacrificing leaders of the underground anti-German forces. These repressive measures are intended to protect the ruling bloc against the appearance of independent socialist lists and the reappearance of genuine Polish socialism.

Poland is a country in which peasants and workers constitute the great majority. A coalition between the Socialist Party and the peasant movement had provided the political foundation for the entire resistance movement and the activities of the underground Polish State. In normal conditions these two parties should have attracted together at least 75 percent of the people. The repressive measures against the Peasant Party and against the true socialists have as their object to remove from the political arena the most potent rivals.

The third major element of independent Polish life is the Catholic Church. Its influence has risen considerably during the recent phase of Soviet politics in Poland. The fall pilgrimage to Czestachawa, a shrine for the Catholic people of Poland, reached in 1946 an unprecedented figure of over a million persons. It must not be forgotten that these people had to overcome extraordinary difficulties of transportation; but one must also bear in mind that Czestachawa is for the Pole an ancient fortress where in times of yore the surge of the Swedish invaders had been crushed. These old memories are coming back to life today with full force. This explains the enthusiasm of the pilgrims and bears testimony to the state of mind of the Polish nation.

The government bloc is attempting to undermine the foundation of the Catholic Church by means of extremely devious methods. Thus, the government has brought back into action a sinister figure of recent Polish history. Boleslaw Piasecki, who has now emerged as the chief of the pro-government Catholic group, was before the war the official leader of a Polish variety of fascism. He had his own "storm troopers," who used to attack workers' meetings, and his own press, which thrived on Jew-baiting. He used to make speeches borrowed from Hitler and Mussolini, and his organization, acting under the name of "Falange" (a bow in the direction of Franco) was attempting to introduce in Poland the Hitlerite custom of greeting by raising the arm. During the occupation Piasecki and his organization were removed from behind the curtains of organized underground activities, not only because of their past sins, but also in view of the fact that they were persecuting Jews in collaboration with the Hitlerite gangs. This individual fell into Soviet hands and, as he himself stated, after a night's conversation with the representatives of the NKVD, found a common language with Soviet totalitarianism. He was freed, and soon began the publication of a Catholic weekly, *Dzis' i Jutro* (*Today and Tomorrow*). This gentleman is seeking a basis of collaboration between the Catholics and the representatives of pro-Soviet policy in Poland. With a complete lack of press freedom such a diversionary move may introduce confusion amongst the electorate.

Moreover, there are increasing indications that still other equally artificial creations will be activated by the communists during the campaign so as to make it more difficult for the masses to form a clear picture of the party alignments and electoral lists, and to prevent the possibility of a unified opposition vote. For the accomplishment of this aim, the communists are relying on their monopolistic control of the radio, the press, and public gatherings. However, they are underestimating the excellent political common sense of the Polish masses, and the sharpening of this sense during the period of occupation, when communications had to be carried out without any technical facilities.

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In this atmosphere of terror and deception, conceived from above, there is no place for a normal development of the electoral battle. For even Mikolajczyk's group will not be able to put up its candidates in all districts. But the difficulties of independent groups, should they wish to put up candidates, will be even greater. Besides, every responsible leader will have to consider seriously whether to subject his adherents to the risk of imprisonment, or even death, for the sake of a mere protest. For that very reason the idea of boycotting the election is now very popular. This idea has found an interesting reflection in a suggestion made by Mikolajczyk's group, namely that the electoral law should be so amended as to invalidate the election unless at least 50 percent of the electorate cast their ballots. This amendment was rejected by the government bloc. Thus, whatever the propor-

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tion of the actual voters to the electorate, the elections will be validated just the same. In view of this many will be guided by the same idea which produced such a large vote in the June plebiscites: to use this opportunity to express a mass protest, and to manifest the real aspirations and convictions of the Polish people; to register their passive vote for real independence, and against domination by Russia; for democracy in the western sense and against eastern totalitarianism; for free cooperation with Europe and the world, and against the division of Europe into spheres of influence, which involves the threat of war.

The awareness of these principles is general. One can find evidence of such awareness in conversations with anyone—whether he is a member of the intelligentsia, a workingman, or a peasant. Thus, the masses will go to the polls fully aware of these principles, and they will cast their votes for opposition candidates wherever such candidates are permitted to run. In those districts where only pro-government candidates will be permitted, the masses of the people will either vote for symbols of the opposition (that is to say, for the names of individuals or organizations known for their opposition to the régime), or they will cast blank ballots. The extent of these two forms of protest voting will depend on the conditions at the polling places. Such votes will be invalidated. However, together with the votes cast for the opposition candidates, they will give expression to the real mood of the people.

Such is the attitude of all the independent groups and politically-conscious individuals concerning the forthcoming elections. However, if the conditions are such as to preclude the election of a substantial number of independent candidates, and if the election regulations interfere with the freedom and secrecy of the ballot, the possibility is by no means precluded that a large portion of the population will refrain from voting, or even that a general boycott of the elections will be declared.

The Polish people are seeking means of expressing their will in these elections. They are aware that, in all probability, the government intends to falsify this will, just as was the case with the plebiscite. But the government has failed in this respect in June, and it will fail again this time.

Humanism and the Machine

The writings of Gina Ferrero - Lombroso

C. Marion Mitchell

JULIEN BENDA, in one of his "Letters to Mélisande," has said that the average professor of philosophy would walk with his nose in the air past any idea expressed in simple terms and that it required a mind like Bergson's to reach through simple appearance to the depths beneath. It happens that Bergson is precisely the philosopher who most insisted on the importance of the writings of Gina Ferrero-Lombroso. In "The Ransom of Machinery" and "Return to Prosperity" most people only saw two more books to put on their library shelf, under "Sociology." But the great philosopher recognized at once the quiet originality of Madame Ferrero's thought. Real originality is that which does not strike one immediately; it follows the traces of tradition without being aware that it does so in novel and different ways and with particular freshness.

As long as she wrote of "The Soul of Woman," women all over the world listened to her with passionate attention because they love to hear anyone talk about themselves and especially about their souls. In a dozen different languages they followed this tenderly pitiless examination of their hidden depths and, in that inapprehensible language of feminine thinking—"they do not think in words"—they either revolted voluptuously against Madame Ferero's diagnosis or else, with equal delight, accepted her findings. But from the day that Madame Ferrero passed from woman's soul to a consideration of the peculiar suffering that is her lot under the conditions of our mechanized society, and proceeded to discuss the causes of this mechanization, and this great misfortune, women, and men also, paid but slight attention. Her words, after having been for a number of years on everyone's lips, became those of a voice crying in the desert.

Yet it is this second period in her work which is of central importance to contemporary society—this society whose disintegration she predicted and which she claimed had been caused not by

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sad and ineluctable determinism but by a free moral choice. For if capitalist industrialism is the direct cause of the intellectual, moral and spiritual downfall which we observe about us, it is itself the result of a deliberate deviation made centuries ago.

"Ideas which are generally admitted to be above discussion are those which, above all, one must always start out by discussing." It is still generally admitted, by the marxist as well as by the capitalist, that it is to industrialization that we owe our civilization, happiness and hope of future progress. We have to make a real effort—unless we possess Bergson's power of vision—not to be shocked when Madame Ferrero tells us that the machine—the machine considered not as a tool but as man's master—was installed so late, as cornerstone to the system of life, simply because men refused deliberately to install it earlier. It is with considerable difficulty that we believe her when she shows — through the Chinese, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans — that societies which were intelligent enough to invent machinery were advanced enough in wisdom to refuse to invent it; that they always implicitly, sometimes explicitly, refused to let themselves be drawn into a mechanized world, because their spiritual attitude rejected such a world, and because they saw in the multiplication of objects and the diminished need for labor nothing but a grave moral and social danger.

One must seek the cause of the triumph of the machine in that new turn of mind which developed toward the middle of the long period which we call, far too simply, the Renaissance. The lust for land and gold which from then on dominated Europe is not the hunger of a young and healthy being; it is pathological voraciousness. After the long and difficult discipline of the Middle Ages, the humanist movement was not an act of primitive pagan vigor—this "return to the human" after the heights to which Christianity had soared could be nothing but a gesture of fatigue, falling back along a curve of weakness. You cannot go backward in a moving world, and it is impossible to return from a superior order to a lower one without falling into disorder. After having handled for centuries—during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance—the tools of pagan antiquity in order to enrich the Christian age, the men of the fifteenth and sixteenth century started, in their pride over their success, to love and propose these means as an exclusive end. And thereby made the choice which prepared the mechanized world we have. They began by preferring the servant to the master, man to God, and in strict logic it is natural that they should have ended by preferring the machine to man. The planned economy of the Middle Ages had been planned with a moral end in view: the sumptuary laws of the Princes, the Church's laws against usury, the severe rules of the guilds—whether effective or not—had all been created in the name of morality and to serve a moral end. The stability which they attempted to preserve was not wholly that of the economic order. They aimed at a social peace which would permit man to reach a higher peace.

In rejecting Christian morality the men of the later Renaissance also rejected the pagan morality which it contained, for all that was good in the pre-Christian world had been integrated, with a most careful economy, in the bosom of the Church—by definition catholic—and had never been repudiated even there where it least influenced behavior. The humanists rejected pagan morality, retained only a reflection of paganism.

We know how the legitimate hunger for purely human satisfactions then became the mad avidity for land and gold which on one hand led to mass extermination of colonial populations and, on the other, inaugurated the new slavery.

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It was then that the indisputable decadence of international and individual morality which we see today began. Certainly it was not with the Renaissance that wars started, nor with humanism that cruelty commenced; but it is to that historical period, to the direction then given human intelligence, that the tendency to subordinate all values to the interests of commerce and industry can be traced. At all times man has profited by war and thievery. Yet till then his loot was considered the reward of brigandry and not a "service" rendered society. Now, it is precisely under the label of "public benefit" that the process of wealth-gathering has succeeded in presenting itself. Those who refuse to accept the gospel of "wealth comes first" are called primitive and backward and are accused of failing in their duty to society. It is no longer permitted to doubt that wealth is the most precious of goods, and the disdain of rich countries for poor countries is as implacable in the modern world as the old disdain of the puritan for the sinner; it contains the same feeling of moral superiority.

It follows that the laws of economic necessity imposed by this new creed are much harder to bear than the protectionist laws of old times. The Christian code of the Middle Ages forbade competition because competition is cruel. The humanist code of the Renaissance still forbade publicity because publicity abases man's personal dignity. But the economic laws of our times which care neither for man's suffering nor for his dishonor impose both suffering and dishonor because they—the economic laws—are necessary to the process of acquiring wealth and this process has become the uniquely necessary of all processes.

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Although the Church still condemned loans at interest, the popes themselves, as early as the fifteenth century, had begun to borrow considerable amounts of money from the house of Fugger of Augsburg, and many Catholics gave up the teaching of the Church to follow the example given by its head. Venice and Genoa, enriched by centuries of morally dubious commerce beyond the limits of Christendom, threw themselves into the humanist current—to break free from a former moral discipline rather than to find a new one. Thus these cities could be the prototypes of capitalist nations because they were no longer truly Christian. Their fleets sailed on orders from their merchants to conquer new markets by trickery or force (until complete industrialization the markets were still markets in which to buy and not in which to sell) and within their city gates the first banks were opened. The example they gave of totally unscrupulous mercantilism was soon imitated by the Low Countries and by England, countries which, since they no longer recognized the jurisdiction of the Church, could freely perfect the pitiless techniques of commercial finance.

And since capitalism now could indeed grow in all freedom, all that was needed was the assistance of exceptional conditions, which it found in eighteenth century England, for it to become industrial capitalism, that society of the machine, which we have at present. In the nineteenth century Germany and the United States succeeded in reaching England's level, and thus the Protestant nations acquired an advantage in industrialization over the Catholic nations which they never lost. The latter, still for a while protected—until the French Revolution—against the infection of industrial finance, today suffer from the consequences of this deformation which took place in other nations more than they do from being afflicted with it themselves. And as a further consequence, not being so totally industrialized, the Catholic countries actually find themselves in a less painful situation now that they must adapt themselves to the changes that the failure of the system of industrial finance compels civilization to make.

However, the striking development of wealth in certain countries during the eighteenth century made all countries envy it, since the human suffering on which this wealth was built remained hidden to their eyes. On the other hand, the planned economy of the Middle Ages was directed, as we know, toward a moral end; as soon as this morality had fallen from favor and the principles which governed it seemed outworn, the plan which had ruled society ceased to be thought of as a protection and was considered wholly as oppression. From the sixteenth century on, men everywhere, even in agricultural countries, groaned under the weight of an economic legislation which no longer protected them—since it was no longer applied in every country—but actually stifled life through the despairing multiplicity of its rules and regulations. The great feeling of relief which came with the French Revolution corresponded to a true need. Free trade was one of the principal, and most authentic, freedoms won in this revolution. There was truly a moment of economic relief, and economists for a time could hold to the soothing illusion that really all that was needed was *laissez-faire* in economic laws to reach a natural order and permanent equilibrium. But the machine society, which had demanded economic freedom as long as there were new markets to exploit—in non-industrialized European countries or in newly discovered continents—as soon as the day came when these resources were exhausted, swiftly demanded that this freedom be suppressed. In consequence, today, because of the impossibility of distributing over-production, we have a planned economy as brutal as, and even more asphyxiating than that of the Middle Ages. We still say that it is protectionist, but it no longer guarantees, even fictitiously, man against exploitation or society against catastrophe; it guarantees industrial finance through the exploitation of men everywhere, and at the expense of society.

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Madame Ferrero calls attention to two other factors in the decadence of our times which can be attributed to the machine age. The first is the subordination of newspapers to the interests of commerce (the first English newspaper was brought out by Lloyd's for its publicity,) a servitude which contributes to lower the tone of men's thinking. The second is the disproportionate increase in population between 1770 and 1840 which prevented the normal absorption of two generations in the framework of society. Peasants working in the fields with their children educate them while they work [It depends on the kind of fields. The Editors]. In the nineteenth century the workman who wore himself out for twelve to fourteen hours a day in one factory, while his children—as soon as they were five or six years old—were weakening their bodies and souls in another, lost all contact with his children and no longer could hand down to them the thousand traditions and principles which, transmitted in daily intercourse, constitute true culture. Two or three boorish and slave generations sufficed to break down personal judgment and destroy man's taste for freedom. Personal morality soon followed public morality—and political and social—whose downfall already was complete. Materialism—with its apparently inexorable evidence—always stands for the line of the least effort; it was then that it became master of man's spirit.

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Thence sprang the triumph of the three—or are they not perhaps really but two?—diversely sinister ideologies which divide our world. These ideologies, which differ so in their developments, their expression and their methods, are identical in their roots—materialism—and in their fruits—the machine. In some of them the machine is still only the industrial machine; in others, more ferociously logical, the machine draws with it the mechanization of souls.

Madame Ferrero, bourgeois by origin, proletarian in sympathies, had too aristocratically objective an intelligence (objectivity is the privilege of a dominating mind) ever to fall into vulgar error. In her study of women she had avoided any easy over-simplifications; she was not a feminist, but this did not lead her into systematic anti-feminism. Similarly, the severe condemnation which, in her social studies, she was forced to bring against capitalism, did not lead her to seek salvation in communism. She condemns the inhumanity of the machine wherever she finds it, in Ford or in Stakanov. She sees that these two ideologies are really one: they agree always as to the ultimate aim, often as to means. She is not dupe of the humanitarian materialism which believes in the machine as a provider of a terrestrial paradise built round automobiles, movies and bathrooms. Neither Detroit nor the Donetz have become through these ambitions earthly paradises; at the cost of immeasurable sacrifices of health, dignity and the freedom of man, they have not even succeeded in being tolerable earthly cities. Between these two solutions which are so alike and which have solved no problem, Madame Ferrero proposes a third.

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The war we have seen was a struggle between the most industrialized powers, England and the United States, against their most dangerous rivals in industrialization, Germany and Japan, and it seems to have been won by Russia, which for twenty-five years has employed its immense strength in an effort to catch up with, and surpass, these other states in industrialization. The result looks like the total triumph of the machine and state capitalism, its servant. Yet it is possible—God's dialectics are not those of materialism—that this war may be the death-blow to capitalism and to the machine. The fearful pauperization of Europe, the consequent weakening of state and private finance, the development of agriculture brought about because people are famished, the decentralization imposed by bombing, have prepared the ground for those solutions long ago proposed by Madame Ferrero and have made their acceptance more urgent.

These solutions (for there are as many solutions as there are problems; it would be too simple if there were but one alone) are so untheatrical, they impress the imagination so slightly, that the world passes them by without seeing that humble means alone can save it. Unlike the medievalists (such men as Ruskin and Morris) Madame Ferrero-Lombroso does not demand the abolition of machinery. She does not ask that all machines be destroyed, for her common sense shows her how useful they are and what power they give to man. The important thing is to distinguish between those machines which favor a true economy and those which work against a true economy, between those which create more wealth than they absorb, and those which absorb more wealth than they create. These latter, generally so complicated and immense that one cannot bring them to a halt without causing fabulous losses—since they immobilize such a disproportionate amount of capital investment—devour natural resources, at a speed which our descendants will find difficult to forgive, in order to produce objects which no one wants and which have to be sold through massive publicity or massed machine guns. In order that capital and markets be not lost, the governments day after day throw the taxpayer's money into these bottomless pits.

That kind of industry must be sacrificed without hesitation; it is useless to prolong the agony with injections and blood transfusions which only exhaust those who are forced to donate their blood. And this is all the more true since, according to Madame Ferrero's analysis, in almost all industries, including steel and mining, thanks to recent technical discoveries, mechanical giantism is already obsolete and survives only because private and collective capitalists have so heavy an investment in it that they cannot bear to see this investment lost.

The machines, on the other hand, which create more wealth than they absorb are especially those which lend themselves to home production or to business enterprises small enough to be run economically from both the technical and human point of view. By multiplying this kind of machine we can make machinery help agriculture instead of being agriculture's rival and destroyer.

A return to the land, accompanied by a rational use of machinery such as that proposed by Madame Ferrero, obviously bears no resemblance to the mechanized and industrialized agriculture which has been tried in America with such lamentable results. Combining small industry and craftsmanship, farmers would no longer suffer from a lack of ready cash—always their most urgent need even when they are prosperous. To cultivate on one's own land those products which are essential to family life, to earn through intelligent work with machines that which is necessary to give extra comfort to the family, that is the process which would give material and moral independence to man.

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Madame Ferrero was not a Christian. Occasionally, when she drew her economic data from anti-Catholic sources, as she did in her analysis of English conditions in the sixteenth century, she has been unjust to the Church. Yet when what she writes is based on her own personal observations—always those of an entire good faith and honesty—she praises the Church and Christian morality. This is perhaps because she was of Jewish origin, belonged to a family of scholars, and lived in a country impregnated with Catholicism and a deep classical culture, and therefore her own personality summed up a long and tenacious moral and spiritual tradition which, while not directly a Christian culture was composed of the same elements and reflected in a certain way the same light. If "perfect attention is a form of prayer," Gina Ferrero, through her indefatigable attention to truth on the social plane, prayed a great deal.*

Communications

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

Chicago, Illinois

TO the Editors: Last night I was talking in New York—in their own language which I learned for military purposes during the war—with some twenty-odd Vietnamese who have found their way to this country from Indo China. While politically inactive themselves, they are unqualifiedly opposed to the return of French rule, and united in their enthusiams for the post-war Republic of Viet Nam.

They are not communists. They regard the alleged communism of the Viet Nam government as a journalistic fiction. After I had left them I read your editorial "White Man's Burden" with its superficial assumption that the Viet Nam Republic is nothing more than a Moscow-inspired movement and its leader a Soviet agent. This is a wrong assumption, not only because the communism-*vs.*-capitalism issue is almost non-existent on the Indo-China scene, but because the real issue, the case for Viet Nam independence from French control, is thereby obscured.

It is the enormous suffering that the Vietnamese people have experienced under colonial domination and the capacity they have shown for self-government that justify their struggle for independence. On the strength of my seven months' stay in Indo China, I feel confident in stating that little anxiety need be wasted over the possibility of a Moscow-directed Viet Nam.

GEORGE F. SHELDON.

We have invited Mr. Sheldon to present the case for Viet Nam; his views will be published in a forthcoming issue.—THE EDITORS.

*Madame Gina Ferrero-Lombroso died in Geneva, Switzerland, in March, 1944, eighteen months after the death of her husband, Guglielmo Ferrero, the historian.

SECOND ROUND

Briarcliff Manor, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In your leading editorial "Labor's Second Round Negotiations," December 27th issue, you say: ". . . the supplanting of management-labor class strife by genuine industrial partnership is the only possible avenue to American industrial harmony." One wonders how so obvious a fact is lost sight of by both labor and management. You go on to say: "This cannot be set up by legislation." With that I agree; but I do think we can promote this goal by *incentives* provided through legislation.

While the problem of maintaining prosperity has many phases, for all practical purposes we can simplify it into one of employment security. If everyone has a steady job at good wages, many of these other problems we worry about will take care of themselves; labor will be prosperous, and hence able to buy the products of industry; and industry will be prosperous when it has steady markets for its output. As a matter of fact, employment security and profit are mutually dependent; you can't have one without the other. (I'm dealing with communities as a whole—not individuals.)

The annual wage is being urged as a solution of the problem of fluctuating employment; but while it has many good features, it has some bad ones. One is the difficulty of getting industry generally to adopt it; another is that it tends to freeze the share of labor in production; whereas any successful "industrial partnership" must provide that labor gets a share in production proportionate to its contribution.

No annual wage plan can succeed unless it has *reserves* on which to draw when labor is idle; and to recognize this is to suggest an alternative—with none of the disadvantages of the annual wage, and with potentially all its benefits. The alternative is an "employment security reserve fund" to be built up by industrial concerns.

It would operate like this. When a corporation finds its demand falling off (and all corporations have this experience sooner or later—not necessarily at the same time) it can follow one of two policies. It can maintain production and build inventories—out of consideration for its labor—hoping that demand will soon recover. But this is a very hazardous policy. Or it can lay off labor and curtail production, hoping for an early recovery in demand which would justify rehiring the labor. But such idle labor loses much of its purchasing power (since unemployment insurance is totally inadequate); and the labor still employed restricts its buying through fear; and what starts out as a local infection may spread into an epidemic.

But a corporation which possesses an "employment security reserve fund" is free to adopt a sound business policy to meet its emergency, without harm to its labor or itself. For falling demand is due to overproduction, obsolescence of the product, or mismanagement; and in any of these circumstances temporary curtailment of production is necessary. With an "employment security reserve fund" to fall back upon, labor made idle through curtailment of production can be transferred from operat-

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ing account to reserves; and both management and labor have every incentive to work together as a partnership to find out what caused the trouble and correct it as speedily as possible.

I return now to the proposal in my opening paragraph—that we can promote this goal through legislative incentives. Government now gives a corporation an incentive to take care of its *property* assets by granting tax exemption to depreciation reserves; but it denies the corporation the right to set up tax-free reserves to take care of its *human* assets. It is incredible that this should be so, and a simple change in our tax law would correct it.

DAVID M. FIGART.

RELIGION IN THE COMMUNITY

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I should like very much through your publication to secure the cooperation of religious leaders throughout the country in compiling a pamphlet which would describe the programs emanating from Houses of Worship (Jewish and Christian alike) showing an active participation by churches and synagogues in community affairs . . . (in other words, which show Religion at Work in the Community).

I know there are numerous programs and many Community Councils throughout the country in which religious leaders and their congregatings are rendering an outstanding service. This type of service should be made known so as to encourage religious leaders and their congregations in other communities to participate more actively *in the life of the whole community.*

We would very much appreciate receiving *detailed reports* of this kind of program being carried on in any part of the United States at the earliest possible moment.

HARRY J. CARMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Religion at Work in the Community,
1834 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

The Stage & Screen

Beggar's Holiday

HERE'S A strange mess. Aside from the endless literary reminiscences surrounding its original success, I suppose the two most vital facts one can learn about John Gay's original "Beggar's Opera"—upon which this one is variously based—will be first, that it started a new mode of entertainment in the Ballad-Opera, a play arranged to familiar airs and tunes; and then, Boswell's delighted dictum that "There is in it so much of real London Life . . ." the London of 1728. That there was in it also a good deal of ridicule on the abuses of the time, goes without saying. However, and unfortunately, its current counterpart seems to me to present neither reality nor satire. There is, for instance, neither a time nor place signature to John Latouche's script: this

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might be evidently any American city at any time. And while sticking fairly close to the characters and story of the original—the saga of the downfall of the wicked Captain Macheath and his gang through the wiles of the far wickeder "thief-taker," Peachum, what lumbers forth in this version is frankly long stretches of heaving rather than Gay (sorry) sex. And this all done up in pseudo Coward verses by Mr. Latouche, aired to very light-lyric tunes by, of all people, Duke Ellington. The mixture is not only sad, but bad.

I think Mr. Latouche had, in order to be pertinent, timely, intelligent, or what you will, a choice of two facets on which to build for excellence. One will be that his story is of course one of crime *in action*. It is absolutely necessary, for sense, for us to know that his Captain is the modern counterpart of a highwayman, and to watch him at least efficiently directing, if not leading his gang. This facet Mr. Latouche has ignored completely. It is true, guns are in evidence, and there are some sinister extra people lurching about, beautifully lit and choreographed by the technical experts. This small element would seem to place the business in the Capone era in the trembling twenties, but as none of the other elements relate particularly to that period, it must be only partially counted. Certainly, the author's largest hint for a complete modernizing of his villian-hero must lie not in a consideration of his *kind* of crime, but rather in the *kind* of law protecting it. A poor play last season, another "Beggar" one by Theodore Reeves presented, sprawlingly enough, an up-to-the-minute re-invention of Macheath. In this, a callow, quiet, double-entry Bookkeeper appeared as the spring behind a vicious racket, and was contrived to oppose a simple gunman of a former day. Even in the Gay original, Mr. Peachum had books, and therefore schemes, and his wits and wit and business would have been lost without them. But here, although wonderfully, maniacally played by Zero Mostel, Latouche's Peachum has merely a number of vaudeville props.

The second facet, mishandled rather than ignored this time, by the author will be the sexual one. Given the particular talents of Mr. Ellington to work with, plus the specialties of a tremendous mixed Negro and white cast including such people as Avon Long, Marjorie Belle, Mildred Smith, and again Mr. Mostel, it should have been possible to produce a kind of horror-fest truly representative of the moral anarchy of our time. A kind of dark, twisted grotesquerie as indicative of *now* as Webster's "Duchess" was of his period. However this is, as I have emphasized, not the present case. All of the doxies and rogues come forward to deliver slick and sophisticated (or old-hat fancy) numbers, incidental perhaps to the author's understanding, but of nothing else. A waste. Mr. Latouche's reputation has been misread by his producers and by himself. The reeling radioism of his greatest work, "Ballad For Americans," certainly should have established him politically, but not at all in the way of intelligence or talent.

This will seem a belabored analysis of a gigantic, disappointing, dirty show. However, esthetically and critically, it has a point. The point is that the Gay work has for generations been a pattern for satire. It is one of the "books" which will always be re-used. I have not been able to read Bertold Brecht's post-first-world-war interpretation in toto, merely some of its lyrics, which are good translated comment. And there is indeed even an American comment in this mistaken million version. Oliver Smith's sets are the largest, most superb, tricky, atmospheric, and successful I have ever seen. Perhaps that's all that needed to be said from the very beginning. For our engineered present, at least. (*At the Broadway.*)

Burlesque

WITH AS MANY as three openings lighting on one night of the week, I will have to space reviews as cleverly as I can. Edward Mabley's and Leonard Mins's important "Temper the Wind" is down for next week. As for this revival of the Watters-Hopkins honey of some twenty years ago, I had sadly to be represented rather than present on the night. Trusted opinion, however, assured me that Bert Lahr is wonderful, if different, in the Hal Skelly rôle, and that it is all quite worth a ticket. Which I mean to prove just as soon as I can. (*At the Belasco.*)

Love Goes To Press

FAR MORE absorbing than Martha Gelhorn's and Virginia Cowles's play will be the gentleman correspondents' reviews of it the following day. Everyone seems to be pretty sore. I have no way of sorting the facts as I wasn't on any European spot during the war, but I do know that if this scheme of loud love and female efficiency in an Allied Press Camp on the Italian Front lasts the week, it will be because of the considered acting of Ralph Michael, an English find. Mr. Michael as a prudent Public-Relations Major is very nice indeed, but the frivolity he is mixed with seemed neither real nor important. (*At the Biltmore*). KAPPO PHELAN.

Men, Women and Nobody

IF, AMONG the pictures reviewed this week, "13 Rue Madeleine" was designed for men, and "The Secret Heart" for women, and "Abie's Irish Rose" for everybody, then men get the luckiest break of all; they are certainly luckier than women and much, much luckier than everybody.

Following the semi-factual pattern set so well by "The House on 92nd Street" and "S.O.S.," *"13 Rue Madeleine"* is another crisp, fast-moving spy-and-chase thriller. Director Henry Hathaway and Producer Louis de Rochemont use cinema effectively to tell a story about US Army Intelligence that could be a case history. The plot starts in this country with fascinating sequences of the testing and training of potential agents (played by Richard Conte, Annabella, Frank Latimore and 19 others), takes on some good suspense when we learn that one of them is a nazi counter-spy, rises to a high pitch of excitement when the scene shifts to England and particularly to France where Operation 77 goes into action. One may feel that the group's leader (James Cagney) takes too great a risk in setting a trap for the Germans by

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giving the counter-spy so much rope; however, in spite of this, the whole picture has such an air of authenticity that it is almost like a small chunk of history taking place before you. Its good script (written by John Monks, Jr., and Sy Bartlett), its realistic sets and its unactorish cast (that also includes Walter Abel, Melville Cooper, Sam Jaffe, Blanche Yurka and many lesser-knowns in smaller rôles) combine to give this film a documentary tone. And its story has two assets that help to preserve this tone: an absence of romance and of Rover Boys who survive no matter what. "13 Rue Madeleine" portrays the Germans as smart and tough, but shows the Americans as smart and tough, too. Furthermore, besides providing a lot of vicarious thrills, it pays a well-deserved tribute to the members of US Army Intelligence.

I suspect that only women are going to follow *"The Secret Heart"* with any degree of interest. Its plot mainly concerns a very sincere, hard-working woman (Claudette Colbert) and her stepdaughter (June Allyson) who is slightly batty. Through a flashback, the stepmama reveals to a psychiatrist (Lionel Barrymore—but not as Dr. Gillespie) that when her husband committed suicide some ten years ago she had a guilt complex and told the man she loved never to see her again or even to write. So naturally, in the present, the stepdaughter (neurotic over the memory of her father) falls for the man whom the stepmama still loves and who, what's more, still loves her. Robert Z. Leonard has directed this film to squeeze a couple of tears out of feminine eyes; and no doubt he succeeds. The men in the picture are rather incidental. Walter Pidgeon, as the shipbuilder who patiently waited for Colbert for ten years, acts as if he's willing to wait another ten; but he will not accept June Allyson as a substitute. Robert Sterling, as Colbert's other stepchild, seems to be in the plot mainly to show that the stepmama could do a good job. The friendly relationship between Claudette and Robert is all the more appealing because of the friction between Claudette and June. When all this ends with a nice father-daughter relationship being established between Pidgeon and Allyson, you are likely to wonder what the whole thing had in mind. However, if you listen to radio's soap operas, you may enjoy this.

I am certain that Producer Bing Crosby had the best of intentions in making a new film version of *"Abie's Irish Rose"* and that he thought he was pleasing everyone. From the number of complaints made by organized groups, the movie seems to be satisfactory to no one except those people who believe "one religion is as good as another so what's all the fuss about anyway." Anne Nichols, who wrote the original play in the '20s and fooled the critics with her hit that ran endlessly, has written the screenplay for this version; and she may fool critics and audiences again. Except for the fact that the action now takes place after World War II, the story is pretty much the same as before—and it still has the same old vaudeville treatment of the Jewish and Irish fathers. The whole thing is very slow and naïve, and in many scenes it is definitely embarrassing. Not even the sprightly efforts of Joanne Dru as Rose-

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mary and Richard Norris as Abie or the pathetically humorous attempts of J. M. Kerrigan and Michael Chekhov as their respective fathers can make this misguided attempt at tolerance acceptable. We do hope Bing won't let his wilting "Rose" affect his crooning. Perhaps if no one goes to his production, he may take comfort from Gray's line about full many a rose being born to blush unseen or from Gertrude Stein's more modern floral piece: "Before the flowers of friendship faded friendship faded."

Whether or not you are a newsreel addict, I should advise your hunting up Paramount's twentieth anniversary issue. The editors of Paramount News have gone through their files of the last 20 years and have assembled the highlights into a short entitled *"Two Decades of History."* Of course some of the big events and names of that period are missing, but most of them are there and you'll be surprised how much happened from the time of Lindbergh in 1927 to the era of the United Nations in 1947. You'll also be surprised how much more there was than the war. Paramount pats the backs of its own cameramen every now and then, but they and their editors have done well. Besides giving you a quick and interesting résumé of the last two decades, this short will again impress you with what a wonderful thing is cinema. But as good as they are, not even yet have the movies reached their fullest capacity. Congratulations to Paramount on their anniversary and best wishes for bigger and better newsreels.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Labor Movement

A Prediction for '47

SINCE John L. Lewis pulled in his horns and called off the coal strike, there has not been a single important work stoppage in the whole country. Important, that is, in the sense that it cripples or slows down the economy. You could almost say important in any sense. Not since VJ Day has there been such peace and quiet on the industrial front.

But the curious thing is that labor is still getting headlines: front page, second page, third page, fourth page, sometimes six or seven pages.

People are nervous about labor, very nervous. They have reason to be. Labor has shown that it has the power not only to slow down, not only to cripple, but even to bring to a dead stop. And since the Truman Administration has thrown in the towel, turned tail and run before the Republican assault, labor finds itself almost alone in its own corner, without seconds, without rooters, without even a referee to protect it from the fouls.

It's not really that bad. But that is the way it seems to many in the trade union movement. Labor is as nervous as anybody else, and maybe labor is a little scared of the future, of inflation and the new Republican Congress. And right now labor isn't striking very much, but don't be deceived.

It is very much like fighting among children. By which is meant this: suppose you are a kid and have a brother about your own age. You have a small scrimmage, just playful-like, and he happens to sock you harder than the rules allow, or twists your arm a little too far. You are suddenly furious and he is overcome by a sense of guilt. He runs and you chase him. Finally, you catch up and in the course of dealing out his just desserts, you yourself go a little too far. He in turn is outraged, you are guilt-stricken; you run, he chases. And so it goes, except that sometimes there is doubt in the mind of one or both as to just who should be outraged, who should run and who should chase. That leads to confusion.

No matter what the AFL says about the CIO, and vice-versa, labor knows that it is one. The excesses of Lewis, way over on the right of the AFL, fall equally upon the heads of the most rabid radicals in the CIO. And the sins of the communists are laid at the door of William Green and Republican stalwarts like Big Bill Hutcheson. When an independent union ties up Pittsburgh with a power strike, both AFL and CIO share some of the resulting indignation. There are of course other reasons why labor feels that this is not the best time to get aggressive. The little trick that prices have of soaring farther and faster than wages is one of the best of them. But mainly it is the old instinct for not going too far too often. And now it is the turn of capital to go too far. Already we have the foreboding spectacle of a congress of the National Association of Manufacturers, a congress that is hailed as "liberal" and "revolutionary," calling for the death of the closed shop and of any kind of bargaining that involves more than one employer at a time. Everybody talks about prices going down at last, but far more seem still to be going up. And government reports are beginning to show just how fantastically much more prices have been raised than was necessary to cover the first round of wage increases last year. Already, in short, labor has been getting it in the neck, and it will get it in the neck even further, from the Republicans and Southern Democrats, from the stupid profiteers who do not even recognize their own best interests, from the anti-labor press that has no concern with trying to determine the boundaries of justice. Eventually, it will be obvious to everyone that the thing has gone too far. And without any doubt the pendulum will swing back again.

All of which proves not only that we are human, but that we are still in the childhood of our industrial development. Perhaps one day we shall grow up and realize that we must work together as intelligent adults and not fight like brawling brats. Perhaps one day we shall be able to extend the machinery of democracy from the political to the industrial field and no one will call us communists or even socialists for the attempt. Perhaps one day we shall learn that prices and profits are as important in the economic equation as wages, which is far too important to be left solely to the discretion of even the most enlightened of our industrialists. Perhaps one day we shall even be able to work out a set of laws that will give a proper degree of recognition to the rights of labor, capital *and* the public. Perhaps we shall be able to avoid most of the worst kind of strikes. Perhaps one day we shall realize that we are *all* one.

Sometimes it seems that America, with all its painful faults, is destined to produce the best and fullest flower of economic justice and tranquillity. But if so, it won't be soon. Not during 1947 anyway.

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A Swing in the CIO

THERE is another pendulum swinging in the CIO, and it is not a bad pendulum at all. It is the swing against the influence and control of the Communist Party in many of its unions and even, to a lesser extent, at CIO headquarters. There is no room here to detail all the manifestations of this swing. Here are a few samples:

1) In the last few weeks a number of locals in the CP-controlled United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (about 550,000) have voted out Stalinist or weak-sister leadership in favor of strongly progressive, anti-CP officials. These locals, mainly in New York, Pittsburgh and Bridgeport, have nearly 40,000 members. This is an important shift in a most important union.

2) The CIO Industrial Councils of Milwaukee and Wisconsin have gone anti-CP in recent elections after many years of entrenched control.

3) The state CIOs of Massachusetts and New Jersey have come out very strongly against communism, and the former has barred CPs from from holding state office.

4) The rebellion of Joe Curran and several other officers of the National Maritime Union against CP influence in the NMU and, even more so, in the Committee for Maritime Unity has broken out again in more violent form. A majority of the membership seems to back Curran.

5) The formerly solid-CP United Office and Professional Workers has been shaken to the extent of repudiating "outside interference from any source" and disassociating itself from the so-called "left wing." The *Daily Worker* was indignant.

JOHN C. CORT.

Books of the Week

Nelson: A Biography. Carola Oman. Doubleday & Co. $5.00.

MISS OMAN, the daughter of the Oxford Professor of History, and herself an historian of some five fine volumes' standing (not to mention five historical novels, five juveniles and four modern novels) has written a most mellow and rewarding life of England's greatest admiral. From the early days at Burnham Thorpe, where young Horatio's father "pronounced Air, Exercise, Warmth and Cleanliness the first essentials for infant welfare and a Liberal Education the only antidote against Selfish cunning, a passion few are exempt from," until the memorable scene on the deck of the Victory in 1805, when in the hour of his greatest triumph the dying Nelson murmured that the pain continued so very severe he wished he were dead "yet I would like to live a little longer, too . . . how dear is life to all men," Miss Oman shows her—and England's—hero roundly and solidly. And her own writing matches the story she tells; she builds to endure. Thus she describes Nelson's birthplace: "there was always a salt tang in the air blowing in at the oddly assorted windows of the old Parsonage house, and on early mornings of silver frost, gulls stood on the lawns. On winter nights a distant roar was eternally visible; on wide summer days, a ceaseless murmur" and Nelson's sister's pen equals hers, writing of "the women weeding in the field, the water lilies flowering on the broad; the laylocks fading; birds singing concealed in trees and shrubs in the heat of noon; the fishermen with their eel-spears in pursuit of their prey." Slowly, solidly, surely, in six hundred-odd pages she has shown eighteenth-century England incarnate in her greatest son.

Young Horatio grew up simply and sadly, losing his mother at ten, and going to sea at twelve. Miss Oman does not give the incident of Nelson's writing home for a pot of jam, after his fellow-midshipmen, wondering at the number of hairs in the last pot provided for them by the Lords of the Admiralty, came at the bottom, upon a bald mouse. But she gives a most admirable account of Nelson's Arctic voyage, aged fifteen. Boys, it was said, would be "no use" on such an expedition; their place should be taken by "effective men." But Nelson wangled his way on board the Carcass. They passed the Shetlands, and saw the polar willow in flower on West Spitzbergen; seals swam around them, holding up their heads like a pack of foxhounds. Nelson sneaked off on a private hunting expedition, and was seen by his infuriated captain, separated only by a chasm from a large and menacing bear. The boy's musket failed to fire, but he stood firm, apparently intent upon getting to closer quarters and stunning his adversary with the butt of his useless piece. The captain's shot "had the desired effect of dismissing the bear" and Nelson "at an awful interview explained, 'Sir, I wished to kill the bear that I might carry its skin to my father.'" The Captain "noticed idly that when this lad was agitated, the only visible sign was a thrusting out of mobile lips." The expedition was stopped by ice north of Hakluyt Headlands, after discovering Walden Island. The published account of the voyage was illustrated by Philip d'Auvergne.

The child of whom legend recounted that he had said "Fear? what is that? I never saw it," at twenty-two was in the West Indies. "A light-haired boy came to me in a little frigate," recollected Captain Polson, "in two or three days he displayed himself, and afterwards he directed all the operations."

Nelson was always exquisitely sensitive: easily moved to tears, incurably sea-sick, generous to a fault, emotional on every occasion, entirely vulnerable. At a bull-feast at Cadiz, for example, the young captain of the Agammenon felt for the bulls and horses, and wrote his wife he would not have been displeased to see the men responsible tossed by an enraged bull.

Miss Oman whitewashes Maria Carolina, the reactionary Queen of Naples, who was Marie-Antoinette's sister, but her account of the complicated proceedings in the Mediterranean, which led Nelson to the Battle of the Nile, and to Emma's arms, has never been so clearly told, and the sad Caracciolo episode is given, with dignity, the emphasis it deserves.

Nelson's compassion for his men, and his astonishingly modern outlook about fresh greens, fresh meat and milk, and "vitamins" is well brought out: as he lay dying too he drank lemonade "which was in plentiful supply." Always, even when appointed to a recently mutinous ship, he knew how to win the loyalty and devotion of all those under him: everyone who ever came in contact with him became devoted to him. Only his wife he treated ill. Lady Spencer, having the newly-married Nelsons to dinner was embarrassed because Nelson insisted on sitting next his wife. On his return from the Mediterranean with Lady Hamilton "such a contrast I never beheld" she writes and describes Lady Nelson pushing a wine

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glass filled with nuts across to her husband "which she had attentively peeled for a one-armed man. He thrust it aside so awkwardly that it hit a dish. Lady Spencer remained mistress of herself, though china fell, but Lady Nelson burst into tears." Nelson never could forgive her for having a child five years old when they met, and subsequently none by him. Yet that he felt no guilt, only irritation, when discarding his wife as though she were an old shoe, is surprising in one who was otherwise so adult in his total acceptance of responsibility: "no person" as he reported to Lord St. Vincent, "can be blamed for sending them (the 14 killed and 128 wounded in an unsuccessful attack on Boulogne) to the attack but myself . . . all behaved well."

Yet, in one instance, and one only, "an appeal addressed to the most generous and punctilious of correspondents was crudely returned to the author, without any word of solace—a letter from Lady Nelson, begging him to return." On this redirected letter appear the words "opened by mistake by Lord Nelson but not read."

This is a wholly admirable portrait: written with an exquisitely light touch and full of often very amusing details. Mrs. Oman is at her best in her climaxes: the great battles are detailed with the same scrupulous, yet magnanimous touch, that their hero himself must have had in planning them. Here is humor—the ridiculous gallivant of the *"tres junctu in uno"* across Europe was never more satirically described—not even by Miss Knight's sawn-off lips—but above all, there is ample majesty. Here an heroic life is capitally told.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

Green Grass of Wyoming. Mary O'Hara. Lippincott. $2.75.

IF IT WERE not for Miss O'Hara it is likely that the word "horses" would imply only the *pari-mutuels* and "cowboys" would mean crooners with electric guitars and chaps. Fortunately for the good names of a noble animal and of an honest profession, Ken McLaughlin with his friend Flicka arrived in the literary world and promptly became a national sensation. He held his own in the story of his experiences with the young stallion Thunderhead. Now he has come of age. In the "Green Grass of Wyoming" he seeks and receives his first kiss. Not that the story ever gets very far away from horses and the range. Ken meets Carey Marsh, sweet sixteen, because her mare, Crown Jewel, is lost from a train and is subsequently stolen by Thunderhead, running wild with his band of mares. The recovery of Crown Jewel is the occasion for miles of action at the McLaughlin ranch, though in between blizzards, mad-bull charges and corralling horses, Miss O'Hara takes time for some remarkably fine pastoral comment. Yet it is all background for Ken, under the guidance of the cultured and religious Mrs. McLaughlin, and for Carey, despite the disapproving tactics of her aunt, to discover their young love.

"Green Grass of Wyoming" is probably the season's best answer to the prayers of harassed parents and frantic librarians who want something rugged enough to interest the potential delinquents and idealistic enough to persuade them that life within the Golden Rule can be exciting and fun. Besides providing this, Miss O'Hara deserves commendation for her skilful and honest writing about horses as they are. She puts human understanding where it belongs, interpreting the actions of animals, not in the animals. It's a long way from "Black Beauty" to the "Green Hills of Wyoming," and the distance is all to the good.

EMERSON HYNES.

In Time and Eternity. A Jewish Reader. Edited by Nahum N. Glatzer. Schocken. $2.75.

THOUGH they have lived in our midst for hundreds of years, and though we all know the Old Testament, Jews as a religious body have remained strangers among us. Ordinarily we think of them as those who have stood still in their tracks since they rejected Jesus as their Messiah and since Rome wiped out their national existence in 70 A.D. Jews themselves have not been of one mind whether they should look on themselves as a nation or as a "church." In these post-Hitlerian days it is even dangerous to ask if there is a "Jewish mind," as the issue has been so completely messed up by anti-Semitic and anti-Antisemitic hotheads that you don't know whether it is safer to refer to Einstein as an ex-German, an American, a Jew, or just a man above all these distinctions.

A great deal of this confusion and self-consciousness can be alleviated by the work of courageous publishers like Schocken, who continues his fine publishing known already from Germany, where he made, if I remember well, such great Jewish writers as Martin Buber and Rosenzweig. Not only are these books very good looking but they show conviction. The title of the book will sell it well, even though I feel that its content has lesser ambitions. Together with the promised edition of the hassidic writers, it will help a great deal to dispel the present cloud of ignorance among us.

Of course you will have your difficulties reading the book, its whole way of thinking being as different from our as it is. This juxtaposition of profoundity and triteness, of majesty and scurrility, sincerity and ambiguity is something unusual to our orderly and systematic modern mind. The promise of mystic readings should not give us the idea that we will find parallels to Saint Teresa or Eckhart or even Angelus Silesius. Even their approach to martyrdom—self-inflicted martyrdom—is so different from our modern approach that we will feel in a strange world of thought. Among all these wise men and rabbis there is one who most resembles Saint Francis. His name is "Rabbi Susia of Hanipol, the Saint." There is a story, how he freed somebody's birds from their cage and received a good thrashing for it, but went home serenely. Or about the same man, who wanted to learn to fear God beside loving Him so much, "like an angel penetrated by your awe-filled name" and how God gave him this fear and he hid under the bed "like a little dog and animal fear shook him until he howled: "Lord, let me love You like Susia again." The very vocabulary, the images, the—according to modern minds—pointlessness in the telling of the story, it is all different. And this is true for little Susia as well as Maimonides, the great master of so many scholastics. There is a kind of smartness, a cold wit, something grotesque and illogical in many of these writings—the counterpoint to the tragic sadness of Jewish history and the unending bloody persecutions to which this noble and restless race has been put by godless and religious, pagan and Christian, ancient and modern men from Egypt and Assur down to Germany and Poland. Don't miss this strange book.

H. A. REINHOLD.

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Blueprint For World Conquest. The official communist plan. With an Introduction by William Henry Chamberlin. Human Events. $3.50.

THIS volume reprints documents of the Third International, published in 1921 and 1928. In his introduction the well-known student of Soviet affairs, W. H. Chamberlin, emphasizes that "the significance of these documents should be carefully weighed in considering various aspects of American-Soviet relations."

Unfortunately the volume is very poorly edited. There are no footnotes or commentaries explaining events to which the documents allude, or the importance of the names which they mention. Why were only documents published in 1921 and 1928 selected? Why are not later statements of the Communist International utilized? It would have also been necessary to quote from Lenin's and Stalin's works—the quotations in Chamberlin's introduction are insufficient. The People's Front Tactic (after 1933) is not considered at all though it made previous tactics obsolete. W. H. Chamberlin is surely right to point out the dangers of Soviet expansionism; but is this expansionism only the result of the communist program as formulated by the Third International? Why are documents not quoted which—as the famous Duclos article against Browder—prove that the cooperation of the various communist parties with Moscow continues after the dissolution of the Third International? Why is no attempt made to sketch briefly the history of the Third International utilizing the excellent book of F. Borkenau?

The volume does not fill a very important gap for the American reader. It does not give a documentary survey of the forces shaping Soviet policies. Chamberlin mentions correctly that there is a difference in the tactics of Trotsky and Stalin. And he correctly points out that the reprinted documents are the expressions of judgments by Bukharin and Zinoviev as well as by Stalin, Manuilsky, etc. But why were Bukharin and Zinoviev executed? There were and there are not only personal, but political conflicts among Soviet leaders.

I agree fully with W. H. Chamberlin in opposing sentimental pro-Soviet explanations of Russian policies as purely defensive, etc., just such an attitude requires carefully prepared and edited books. "Blueprint For World Conquest" does not reveal the sources of Soviet influence in the present world. I regret that a man such as W. H. Chamberlin lent the authority of his name to this enterprise. WALDEMAR GURIAN.

And Hearing Not. Earnest Elmo Calkins. Scribner's. $3.75.

MR. CALKINS came out of the nineteenth century Midwest, was a part of those romantic early 1900's in New York publishing, and recounts for a generation which has lost sight of its frontiers a successful, useful and honorable career. He is known widely among laymen for articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* on deafness (he is deaf) and on other subjects, including advertising (he is perhaps the man most entitled to be called the dean of advertising). Through childhood and youth at Galesburg, Illinois, through Knox College, and through a third of his book, Mr. Calkins persists in referring to the first person singular as "the Boy," a device arms-length in effect, which seems to make these sections less revealing and valuable than the rest of the book.

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Winning an ad-writing contest for Bissell carpet sweepers, the Boy growing up also won his first job writing advertising in New York. This was a time when some advertising agents were still those creatures who sell space in periodicals, rather than the technicians who specialize in writing and preparing advertisements. The first have long since abandoned the name "advertising agents" to the creative group, and call themselves "publishers' representatives." Soon, with a fellow-employee, Ralph Holden, he formed a partnership that flourishes even after the retirement of the guiding genius. The Sunny Jim ads for Force breakfast food were born here, and the Phoebe Snow campaign for the Lackawana Railroad—part of the folklore of advertising.

Mr. Calkins says:

> If I were to revert once more to my previous incarnation as advertisement writer I might say that the reader will find in this book if he looks carefully:
>
> A Manual for the Deaf
> A Textbook on Advertising
> A Financial Primer
> An Introduction to Public Speaking
> A Handbook on Hobbies
> Some Advice on Contributing to Magazines
> A Tract on Religion
> A Guide Book to Travel
> A Recipe for Happiness
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JOHN BRUBAKER.

Friendship House. Catherine de Hueck. Sheed. $2.00.

WHEN THE review copy of "Friendship House" came in my mail my first impulse was to return it to the editors. A book review should be impartial. I cannot be impartial about Friendship House, the movement or the book, because I know what the people at Friendship House are trying to do—in their realism and charity. Many readers of THE COMMONWEAL know what Friendship House has accomplished in the slums of Harlem, in Chicago, Toronto, Ottawa and Marathon, Wisconsin. Young men and women, white and colored, live together—in poverty of course—in metropolitan black belts, and they do this through charity, which is love, and because they have decided to follow "a way of life dedicated to combating the heresy of racism by hitting at its roots." Every complacent Catholic should have "Friendship House," the account of how they live, placed in his hands.

LEO J. TRESE.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dunstan THOMPSON already has two books to his credit, both of verse, one having appeared in this country and the other in England. A third is to be published shortly by Simon and Schuster. He is at present in Egypt working on another book.

Zygmunt ZAREMBA was one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party; in 1939 Zaremba was chairman of the Workers Committee for the Defense of Warsaw against the nazis and later distinguished himself in the resistance movement. He left Poland in the spring of 1946 and has since been living elsewhere in Europe.

C. Marion MITCHELL is the wife of a former European diplomat now living in this country. Her article first appeared in French in the Abbe Journet's Swiss review, *Nova et Vetera.*

Anne FREMANTLE is an English critic and writer at present residing in New York, N. Y.

Emerson HYNES is teaching at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.

Rev. H. A. REINHOLD is pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Sunnyside, Wash.

Waldemar GURIAN is an editor of the *Review of Politics.*

Rev. Leo J. TRESE is pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Carleton, Mich.

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